From:	Ehud Barak <ehbarak1@gmail.com>
To:	Nili Priell Barak <nilipriell@gmail.com>
CC:	
Date:	Mon, 8/17/2015 1:46:46 AM
Subject:	Re: email body EB lecture. Please confirm that it is OK. thanks

Hi Bob
Your health first.
We all need you.
The American people included.
Best
EB

Sent from my iPhone

On Aug 16, 2015, at 21:38, Nili Priell Barak <nilipriell@gmail.com> wrote:

> FYI
>
> Begin forwarded message:
>
> **From:** Robert Matthew Shrum <shrum@usc.edu>
> **Subject: Re: email body EB lecture. Please confirm that it is OK. thanks**
> **Date:** August 16, 2015 at 7:45:14 PM GMT+3
> **To:** Nili Priell Barak <nilipriell@gmail.com>
>
> Got it. Will turn to this on Weds as I recuperate fr my hernia surgery. Just sit at home, read and edit.
> Bob
>
> Robert M. Shrum
> Carmen H. and Louis Warschaw Chair in Practical Politics
> Professor of the Practice of Political Science
>
> Dornsife College of Letters, Arts and Sciences
> University of Southern California
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> Office: Taper Hall 355A
> 213-821-8393
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> Mail: VKC 327
> 3518 Trousdale Parkway
> LA CA 90089
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> Email: shrum@usc.edu
>
> On Aug 16, 2015, at 8:43 AM, "Nili Priell Barak" <nilipriell@gmail.com> wrote:
>
> **May 4, 2015**

Thank you. Thank you all.

Ladies and gentlemen, distinguished guests, I'm really honored and glad to be with you in UNLV this evening. I love American universities. Several decades ago, I was a graduate student not far from here, at Stanford, and until then it was probably the best years in my life. I learned there-first hand that American universities are the places where American future leadership and its nature as the standard bearer of the values of liberty and freedom all around the world are both shaped and forged. I will tell you in a moment a little bit about how complicated and uncertain the world we're living in happens to be, but you should know, especially the students among you, that when we think of a hope for a better world, we're basically thinking of you. Thank you very much for being here.

At the entrance to the second quarter of 2015, we are still amidst an unprecedented geopolitical earthquake. Nothing like this has been seen since the end of World War I about 100 years ago. It created a lot of challenges, and at the same time a lot of opportunities. In the Middle East, within less than four years, the Arab Spring turned into Islamist winter. Borders are erased, states become non states or failing states, and centuries-old conflicts erupt once again.
On the world arena, the world order is in a way collapsing or at least strongly shattered in front of our eyes. There is no single center of

geopolitical gravity all around the world, not the bi polar system that we knew for decades during the cold war, not the multi-polar system that we knew for most of the last 25 years. There is no pole at all. The whole world has become one big gestalt, a global village, not in the sense of the original Marshall McLohann saying, but in a very literal meaning, no single player can tackle any major challenge on its own, including the United States, China or Russia, and everything depends on almost everything else.
The most dominant element on the screen is the fact that America is perceived to be weakened, and keeps weakening. It's a perception, it's not an objective reality. America is still the mightiest power on earth, militarily, strategically, economically by far, diplomatically, and in any other aspects, but perception works these days as a reality. And this reality is there. Rivals and competitors, China and Russia, ISIS, the Ayatollahs in Iran, or President Assad, they are all probing the American resolve, strength and determination. What will happen in the rest of 2015 and probably all along 2016 will be directly the consequences of this prodding and its results.

For us in the Middle East, we find ourselves in Israel in a sort of prefect storm. We are at the frontline of the Huntingtonian clash of civilization between the West and Islam, and at the same time we are within the eye of the storm of a struggle that goes within Islam itself, between old traditions and moderna. The backwardness and frustration of modern life.

The longing for the"glorious past" and a vision of "a great leap forward" directly into the 21st century. Suna and Shia, the Wahabis and the youngsters in Dubai and Abu Dahbi who are as modern and educated as all of us are. We are there.

It is usually said in the Middle East that the Middle East peoples, they hate America because it supports Israel. But the opposite is true, Israel is hated because it's perceived as an outpost, in a way the only outpost, of the Western way of life, of the modern world, of the values we all believe in, in an area originally and still mainly controlled by backwardness.

For Israel, there are both bad news and good news in this situation. The bad news is that the Middle East is a tough neighborhood, totally different from the Midwest. I always used to joke with American Presidents, telling them: we envy you, we wanted so much the Canadians to be our neighbors, you got them. In fact, this story goes even earlier, we used to joke that when Moses brought the people of Israel out of Egypt, he was asked by the Lord: where do you want to take my chosen people? He was stuttering, as you all probably know from the Bible, so he started to say "C… C… C…", so the Lord interpreted it as "Canaan", which is the biblical name of Israel. But he meant Canada. Some would say California.
r…

So, it's really a tough neighborhood. No mercy for the weak, no second opportunity for those who can't defend themselves. When I was in uniform I once called Israel a "villa in the jungle": you can have your Jacuzzi or ballet group, or the best philharmonic orchestra 500 miles around, but when you go out of your doorstep, the laws of the jungle prevail, and you have to be aware of it or pay the price, not realizing it.

It’s a really tough place. But, having said that, there is also good news: the good news is that Israel is the strongest country a thousand miles around Jerusalem, and it will remain so, both militarily, strategically,and if we keep our unique relationship with the U.S. even diplomatically. Economically – we are not the richest country, but clearly the one with the most vibrant economy. Israel has more firms or corporations listed in NASDAQ than any other player outside North America. We probably have more start ups per capita than any other place on earth except for Silicon Valley, where we also have about half of our high-tech people, they are already there, and I'm sorry for it, we would prefer to see them at home. Basically, it's very strong. So Israel can afford, out of strength and self-confidence to negotiate with this situation around, and initiate certain steps to change the situation from its very foundation towards a better one, be it negotiated peace agreements, or even unilateral steps, out of confidence, rather than anxiety.

In the world, the fact that there is no single geopolitical center of gravity imposes cooperation as the only way to tackle issues. And what will be most needed in the coming years, more than anything else, is leadership, open-eyed, sober, tenacious leadership, ready to look at reality, however dangerous, directly in the eye and be ready to act upon it, in order to make sure that things happen and be able to both cooperate with other leaders and at the same time be capable of setting clear priorities. Clear priorities is a precondition for any effective action, and a major test for leadership. At the top of order of priorities I believe right now on the world agenda there are two issues: radical Muslim terror and the Iranian nuclear and hegemonic intentions. Kiev and the Donbass or Senkaku islands, are secondary, mainly because they launch America against either China or Russia, rather than finding something which is at least, on the face of it, calls for cooperation, because it's important for all. Radical Muslim terror that spreads over this whole huge Muslim strip, from Marrakech in Morocco to Bangladesh and even Bali in Indonesia, this strip where about 1.3 billion muslims are living, most of them are normal people, they are yearning for the same kind of better lives for themselves, for their kids and grand children, but some of them are extremely frustrated and active terrorists. And in a way, there is certain resonance between this backwardness and the effectiveness of mobilizing power of radical Islam.

The radical Muslim terror threatens the foundations of our very world order, in a very wide manner. and the struggle against it won't be short and won't be simple. First of all, it's common to all of us, the Russians are facing it, in Grozny or Kawkasus, as well as in the streets of Moscow. Europe is facing it for a long time, it's imported there now in masses. The Middle East, of course, suffers from it for a long time. and even the United States, 14 years ago and on a small doses even later. It's common for all. You had it, I mentioned, some 15 years ago, probably you can count from the first attack on the Twin Towers, in 93, probably even 82 with the attacks on the marines in Lebanon. We in Israel suffer from it for 60 years, probably from the day the state was established.

It was more than 40 years ago that I commended our equivalent of your seal team 6 or the delta forces, long before they came into existence. I found myself, in May 72, disguised as an airport mechanics, with overalls and everything, personally leading a raid over a hijacked airplane, Sabena airplane, that landed in Ben-Gurion airport demanding the release of 300 terrorists. When we stormed it, they had weapons, they deployed explosives all around the cabin, and they had several hand grenades without the safety pins in their hands. We pretended to prepare them for taking off. We even arranged that they will see from a long enough distance the prisoners that they asked for, being mounted from buses with prisoner clothes into another airplane. But we stormed

them by surprise, within 90 seconds the shooting was over. Two terrorists were killed, two were grabbed by us. We saved all the passengers, more than one hundred except for one. We had one young officer slightly wounded in his arm – his name was Lieutenant Benjamin Netanyahu, later on our Prime Minister.

The success ended up with no other airplane hijacked never dared to land in Israel. But terror didn't stop. Just a few months later, during the Munich Olympics, 11 of our athletes were massacred by PLO terrorists. Then Prime Minister Golda Meir ordered that all terrorists that were involved would be eliminated. So I found myself, several months later, early 73, disguised as a young lady with everything in place, leading a raid over three of these terrorists in their apartments, in two separate buildings, in a luxurious compound inside Beirut. We came there after midnight, I sent the different squads into the two buildings to climb in to their mission, and remained with another stocky blonde beside me in the street level. Some 30 seconds later, a door of a red Renault opened on the other side of the street, they had weapons in the apartment, bodyguards in the street, and they deliberately rented the two apartments very close, some 200 yards, from Gendarmerie, a kind of armed police station. So, one of the bodyguards came out of his car, opened his leather jacket, pulled out a pistol and started up the street. So I murmured to the blonde, "no choice", and I still remember the shock in his eyes when he saw the two ladies

open their jackets and pull out Uzis and shoot. He immediately fled into the car, our shooting made a shortcut in the horn of the car and the horn and the shooting woke up the whole street, he rolled from the other side, behind a low stone fence. It took about 90 seconds, and a Landrover came from the Gendarmerie station. But they couldn't judge where this thing happened. So they came very close and we surprised them from probably 20 yards and opened fire. There was some shouting of wounded people, we saw them jump behind that same stone fence and start to exchange fire with us. Another two minutes, and another Landrover came, he saw the first one crashed into the line of parking cars on the other side of the street, so we had to engage him earlier. before they disembarked. So we shot him, the second Landrover also crashed into the parking cars and we had two exchanges, one from 20 yards, the other from 50 yards probably. Another two minutes later, the three squads ended their mission, they came down, we climbed on our cars, we had two American station wagons, because Mossad agents rented two days ahead of time. We climbed on it, I ordered to start to move and I got a signal that one officer is missing, it was Yoni the elder brother of Prime Minister Netanyahu, the one who was killed three years later during the raid on Entebbe. So we had to stop again to bring him, and when we brought him a third Landrover came, so we had the whole group now shooting back at the Landrover, and after throwing some hand grenades, pulling out of the area, behind us we threw kind of needle-like

tetra pods, hollow, so everyone who'd try to drive behind us gets flat immediately on the spot. The whole battle took 7 minutes of intensive fighting, the three terrorists killed, one of them almost killed one of our people, because he stood with his weapon in his hands when the door was opened, we had one soldier slightly wounded, and that's all. It took probably less time than it took me to tell you about it. Within 30 minutes of landing we were back into the Mediterranean swimming to the rubber dinghies that were supposed to take us.

It was very successful, but it never stopped terror. We kept fighting terror since then, almost continuously. My lesson is very clear,Terror should be fought head on and be defeated. It is relevant now as it had been then. Look at ISIS, ISIS is weaker than people assume, but the web of terrorist organizations of which ISIS is a part is extremely resilient and strong, and stable, because it's only loosely connected,they live on a very tight diet, they don't need a lot of funds and means, and they're mobilizing from a pool of a hundreds of millions of frustrated Muslims, and they’re living among them. This Terror hub is made of ISIS, Jabhat al-Nusra and half a dozen of other terrorist organizations in Syria, Lashkar-e-Taiba in India, the Houthis in Yemen, the Shabaab in Somali, the Boko Haram in Nigeria, we can count Hezbollah among them,Hamas and several others. And it can give us a real fight. It's the kind of generation long fight that our ancestors had with the pirates on the high seas. It also took a generation, it wasn't

easy. It would need tight cooperation among leaders of the world all around the world in intelligence gathering, in arresting those people, in operations against them. And beyond anything else it would need unflinching political will to stay the course and win. And it won't be easy because there'll be ups and downs, successes and setbacks, and many painful moments, many people might lose their lives along the way, and certain cases we'll be won at the last drop of courage and tenacity of small groups of our fighters. But if we are determined, if we want to save our society from this phenomenon of terror, which is somehow encouraged or empowered by the easy access to information, and the easy way to connect all around the world, The very sophistication of our civilization creates much more vulnerable points and technology empowers individuals to be effective, not just in creating explosive devices. Think of nowadays, half a dozen of PhD's in microbiology with a small glass fermentor, can produce certain products, so to speak, that can kill hundreds of thousands before you can even respond. and that's very dangerous. And I didn't even mention yet nuclear terror.

Let's go to ISIS. I mentioned that it's weak, but I want to draw your attention to two ironies in regard to ISIS. Irony number one: President Assad of Syria slaughtered 250 thousands of his own citizens using tanks, artillery, jet fighters, helicopters, even chemical weapons, and it did not suffice to move either the British parliament and Prime Minister Cameron, or the American

congress and President Obama. Then came ISIS and beheaded two journalists in front of the cameras. In fact, it's an old practice in the Middle East and it's still used by some of our allies, allies of the free world, within their own monarchies. but now that it was done in front of the camera,and the video immediately sent to the whole world, within 48 hours the whole world was mobilized against them. I don't complain about the result, because the result is ultimately a good one, the world woke up to the risk of ISIS. But it tells you a little bit about the shallowness or artificiality of decision making processes witihn our societies.

Irony number two: assuming the coalition is successful in suppressing ISIS within a year – it's not impossible – so who won? To the best of my judgment the number one winner is Assad. the coalition took out one of his main opponents which is ISIS, and allowed him to focus more intensively on the rest of the rebels, which are exactly the moderate so to speak rebels that we are trying to help. So that's a paradox, it cannot live together. The first ones to see this paradox were the Turks, when at the height of the fight over Kobanny, you remember this small city, and rows of modern Turkish tanks on the hill just over it. But the Turks were not ready to help the Americans in Kobanny, or the Kurds, without the Americans agreeing that the strategy is not just to suppress ISIS. We should not lose sight,the Turks said, of the real bad guy which is Assad. And they even proposed a practical way to do it.They said, let's announce that for

humanitarian reasons, because there are millions of refugees in Syria, let's announce the Northern one quarter of Syria as a humanitarian zone for refugees, where humanitarian international support will be brought to them. But in order to keep it free from Syrian attacks, you have to announce it at the same time a "No Fly Zone", and impose it. Now, they didn't mention but they expected everyone to understand that once you impose a "No-fly Zone" over the Northern one quarter of Syria you will inevitably clash with the Syrian air force. and this will create a great opportunity for the Turkish air force, for the American, and the Emirates' and the Jordanian air forces which are much superior to the Syrian one, to destroy the Syrian air force, to destroy their air defense system, to destroy the command and control system, and to change forever in an irreversible way the balance of power between the rebels and Assad. But for reasons that are not clear, probably somehow related to the fact that the "Red Line" on the use of chemical weapons was not imposed, a wide scale action against Assad was not taken.

A few words about the future of ISIS. I believe that a coordinated effort against ISIS could suppress it or practically destroy it within a year. But you cannot do it in a piece mill strategy, because you have to understand, for such a small organization, every passing month it can still stand on its feet for another round, where the other side is a coalition led by all major Sunnite states and America, that creates a huge source of prestige, huge source of attraction for

young, Muslims and Europeans-turned-Muslims and others all around the world. It gives a great inspiration to whoever supports ISIS. When you want to win a war, you have to think, twice, in advance, it's not easy, and it's costly – but once you have decided to do it, you have to execute forcefully intensively and win it.

A few remarks about Iran. The Iran nuclear deal is already a done deal. I will share with you in a moment some of my worries regarding this deal. And let me put it clear, Israel will remain vigilant and will always keep ALL options on the table.but first lets look into the future. suspect and verify is the name of the game. behind closed doors we have to sit down together and make sure our Intelligence Communities are working together and allocating enough intel assets to make sure any violation will be promptly identified. We have to think together what kind of events constitute a violation, what should be the triggers and red lines, and what kind of events,however farfetched it seems to many by now, should bring the military option back to the table. i strongly believe that under the circumstances created by this deal theU.S. should seriously consider equipping Israel with the sort of tools that can enable Israel to carry out a more effective independent operation against the nuclear Iranian plan if both governments agree that Iran had brutally broke the agreement and is charging towards a nuclear weapon, I hope for the better with the Iran deal execution. Yet, will it really work only time will tell. the

risks remain high. Because a potentially military nuclear Iran is a challenge not just for Israel but for the whole world. If Iran turns military nuclear it's the end of any conceivable non proliferation regime for the world. Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and later on Egypt will all turn military nuclear. The count down towards Prof Alison Graham's disturbing prediction of nuclear terror will have to start.w.
But on a more profound level, if the world community, led by the United States, will allow Iran, to become a de facto threshold nuclear power, who will have the moral authority or any other sort of authority to tell others who want to do it not to repeat the same? On what grounds? What will be the argument?
t.

Let us learn from past experience, in the last 35 years there were six second-grade nations who tried to become nuclear military power. Two of them gave up voluntarily, Libya following Lockerbie under American and British pressure, and South Africa with the change of regime. Two were blocked physically by a surgical attack, the Iraqis and the Syrians. And two others defied the whole world and ended up with nuclear military capability, Pakistan and North Korea. There is no doubt in my mind that the Iranians are trying to move in the footsteps of North Korea. So, it is Suspect, Verify, and Be Ready to Act if / when it breaks down.
Hopefully it won't.

[[Dear Bob, please recommend what to do with the next two paragraphs which were more relevant BEFORE the deal was struck . Pl recommend whether to take any fraction of it and put it at the right place. I put another pair of [[ ]] brackets at the end of these two paragraphs. I've headed our Intelligence Community when the Pakistani issue was at the focus, and my opposite number here was an old man named Bill Casey, under Reagan, he was director of the CIA. We used to meet every 90 days in Virginia and talked about it, the same issues. It was always about, how many sites? How many centrifuges? How much accumulated enriched uranium they already have? What should be done? What are the real sources of their worry? And no one really suspected that Reagan was soft. The decision ultimately was that the Pakistanis are trying to reach nuclear military capability because they are kinא of threatened and anxious about the superiority of India. So the decision was to give them 75 F16s in order to make them feel self-confident, they won't need nuclear weapons. So nowadays, many of those F16s are wired to carry Pakistani nuclear weapons. I remember years later as the Prime Minister, sitting down with President Clinton over the satellite photos of the reactor in North Korea, the curve of the river, the same questions, how accurate are the ammunitions, can they penetrate the depths, how much enriched uranium is there, what will happen to the enriched uranium even if the explosives will reach it, what will happen if the reactor will be attacked, it's working, there's a river, it can

contaminate and poison hundreds of thousands of people down the stream, it's impossible, exactly the same. And Clinton didn't want to see them. I met him 5 years after he announced one of the agreements that were achieved with North Korea, exactly verbatim the same words that were used by President Obama a few weeks ago. But What the Iranians believe is, if North Korea can do it, why can't we? We are an empire and big power from the dawn of history. It's not simple, when we Israelis talk about "all options should be on the table", we really mean it. And by now, (it was not the situation five years ago, but it is at least in the last two and a half years), the American Armed Forces have in their disposal the capability to destroy and throw the Iranians backwards for 5 years, in a situation that is clearly not a war. It's nothing like the war on Afghanistan or in Iraq. In fact, professionally speaking, I spent most of my professional life in uniform, on the spectrum between the shock and awe in the skies of Baghdad that continues a ten years war and it's not clear even now if it's really behind us, and the one-night operation to kill Osama Bin Laden, the operational elements of an attack on the nuclear infrastructure of Iran is much closer on the spectrum to the attack on Osama Bin Laden. And even if the Iranians know exactly at what night and what hour it would happen, they can do nothing to avoid it. The only thing they can do afterwards is either to attack Israel with missiles or to activate the Hezbollah to attack Israel with many more missiles from the north. And that's a certain risk that the Israeli

government has to take into account. But that's basically it.

And whenever someone tells you, but why to deal with a delay, which is limited in time? Only 5 years in the American case, probably a shorter time if Israel decided to attack. The reality is more complicated. On one hand, you don't know whether an agreement will keep you out of it for 15 years, we all remember what happened in North Korea. At a certain morning you wake up to learn that they announced the inspectors to be spies for whoever, for the USA, for the IEA in Vienna, for Israel, and they expel them out and it takes half a year to bring them back and no one knows what happened within this half a year. But it's true that even a kinetic attack is more damaging for Iran than the eye meets. When we attacked the Iraqi reactor, some 30 years ago, no one could seriously argue that we are delaying them by more than 3 and a half years, for the simple reason that they could ask the same French company who built it to take a 30% premium on the price and start to built it again half a mile from the place of the original one. But reality is more complicated because they're afraid of a repetition of the attack. It doesn't make sense to restart it, and other things happen that blur the horizon for them. It's not yet too late to convey to the Iranian leadership, Khamenei and Rouhani, a clear message preferably behind locked doors, that we don’t want to embarrass you, we don’t want to humiliate you, we fully understand your problems with your perception of politics and

history, but you have to understand that we mean business, we either you dismantle this military nuclear operation, or else. We're not trigger happy, we don't want to do it, but if you corner us and coerce us into doing it we will not hesitate. They have to listen to it and believe it in order to start to think more rationally about options and alternatives.]]

I would like to add few words on Egypt. it is the most populated an historically most important Arab country. as for us, it was the first one to sign a peace with IL and kept it against quite an odds. I knew him for 15 years. and knew him well. Several mistakes might have been done in regards to him. Mubarak was an autocrat, of course, but he was a very effective autocrat that was a great ally to the United States for 30 years, and he found himself kind of abandoned after 3 days some will say 3 hours after his people came to the Takhrir square. And it took a long time, not even now, we don't see real support forSisi from the free world, and he's much better, both of them were much better than the Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim Brotherhood believed in a free election, but only for one time. In fact, in regard to election, I remember sitting with Mubarak in his palace in Alexandria, when the Bush administration announced a free election in Iraq. And he told me, are they crazy? What is the meaning of a free election in Iraq? We are not a kind of Jeffersonian democracy. We're tribal societies. No one loses a minute of sleep in the evening before elections contemplating for whom to

vote. There are patriarchs of the big family, of the clan, of the tribe, and the patriarchs tell the public how to vote and 90% follow it. So I know, he told me, in advance exactly what will be the results of the free election. He said, free election in Iraq, because they have a Shiite majority, will end up providing or giving Iraq to Iran on a silver platter, which happened.

And there is a lesson here. Americans, both the neocons and the democrats, they are coming really as the bearers of the standard of the right values, the right things to believe in. But when it comes to execution, it's about nuances, as the example I just gave about the Turks, in regards to ISIS and Assad or Mubarak in regard to the elections in Iraq. Nuances are important, devil and heaven are all in the details, and American administrations on both sides, to Middle Easterners eye seem to be making to many such mistakes.

And I should tell you, the positioning of the United States in the Middle East and the way it will end up with Assad and with Iran as well as with Egypt is extremely important for the future. I talked to Americans in the highest levels in the last several years more than once about this idea first announced by Hillary to pivot to the East. So what will happen when you pivot to the East? You will see China filling the screen, but with China you won't have a major clash in the next decade. With the Chinese you will have a symbiotic relationship based on trade, reserve, currencies, many other issues. But underneath this umbrella of symbiotic relationship, the

Chinese will keep churning into the vital interests of your best allies in the Far East. and when those allies will have to contemplate for themselves ,behind closed doors in their capitals, to what extent America can be relied upon, as a backer, as a pillar of stabilizing power, they will turn their sights into the last place where the Americans were active, which is the Middle East. that makes the way that America leaves the focus on the Middles East so important for the future as well.

We don't have enough time to talk here about Russia and Kiev, about the nature of Chinese leadership, probably if you ask some questions later I'll be ready to talk about it. But I should mention one element, just 25 years ago, the collapse of the Soviet union, we all believed that the two major powers, major paradigms of the world, get into collision, liberal capitalism won, socialist communism defeated, and as Fukuyama called it at the time, it was the end of history. We learned the hard way in the last 25 years that there are other answers, as well. Singapore, South Korea, China, Russia in a different way, Kazakhstan, even Hungary in the EU, are all examples of societies that, based on different history, value systems and traditions, were led by autocrats, quite successfully, with much higher favorability figures than any leader in the free world can hope for, based on effectiveness. however short of perfect they were, and clearly we would not have elected any one of them, but they were very effective within their societies, and they give a different

example, rather than the one that we provide. We have to realize that the American exceptionalism which is warmly hugged by Israelis and by Western Europeans is not hugged by the rest of the world. They have much more question marks about it.

I was asked to talk a little bit about what's waiting us down the stream in the next 5 years. First of all we learned the hard way in the Middle East to be very modest with predictions and prophecies, specially in regards to the future. Look at Mubarak for example. He had some 4 hundred thousands people working every day and night in his internal security services just in order to warn him in advance when the people are going to stand up against him at the Takhrir square. And he failed, so who could hope to predict those kind of things?

It's usually said in the Middle East that an optimist is a pessimist with experience. But I prefer to stick to Churchill's saying that the difference between pessimist and optimist is that "a pessimist sees the difficulties in any opportunity and an optimist sees the opportunities in any difficulty". I prefer to look at the opportunities. In Israel we will have to focus on the right issues which are: resuming working relationship and if possible even trust with President Obama's white house. Intensifying intelligence effort re Iran, shaping red lines and making sure the qualitative military edge vis a vis any combination of neighbors is kept as well as the military options

vis a vis Iran. At the same time, in coordination with the U.S to engage immediately the moderate neighbors, the Saudis, The Gulf states, the Jordanians, the Egyptians, even Turkey, in a grand framework of regional security agreement. We have a huge underlying common interest with them, in fighting the radical Islam I've just mentioned, in fighting the nuclear and hegemonic intentions of Iran, and in pushing together a solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

This last element is not widely accepted in Israel because of certain kind of sediments of blood and hard feelings and probably justified complaints about the Palestinians and others. But that should not blur us from seeing the real interest of Israel. Israel has a compelling imperative, compelling imperative, to go to move towards two state solution. Many political players in Israel do not like it, major parts of the public doesn't accept it intuitively because it isn't congruent with PL terror and violence they see so often in the streets. But these are the leading imperatives of Israel. The reasoning is very simple, painful but simple: on the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean there live 13 million people, 8 million Israelis, 5 million Palestinians. If this whole piece of ground is reigned by one political entity named Israel, it will become inevitably, and that's the key word, inevitably, either non-Jewish or non-democratic, neither is the Zionist dream. If this block of millions of Palestinians with clear national aspirations can vote to the Knesset,

that's a bi-national state par excellence immediately, and within a generation or a generation and a half, a bi-national state with Muslim majority. If they cannot vote for the Knesset, that's not a democracy. I don't want to draw a comparison with another country in the previous century, nothing repeats itself, Mark Twain used to say that "history does not repeat itself, but it rhymes". And we should be attended to it.

So we have this compelling imperative and we have the opportunity to do it with the rest of the moderate Arabs that have the same perception of realities, but in order to do it we have to put an end to the illusion that it can somehow be miraculously done with the Arab players giving up their intention to see the Palestinian issue at the centerpiece and first on the order of priority and on the timeline. And it's true that with the Palestinians alone, some people say that we can, we Israelis, only give something, we cannot get a lot. Almost true. But with the rest of the Arab world it's clear that we have to get a lot, from legitimacy in the eyes of neighbors, to opportunities in a huge infrastructure projects, commercial and economic cooperations. So that's for Israel. And I want to add to it that adapting this approach will enable us to get over at least part of the friction that we have with the American administration and will let us resume the working relationship. In fact I should admit that in spite of all our differences with the Obama administration, the President backed a policy of unprecedented support for Israel. The

Israeli Intelligence Community enjoys an unprecedented cooperation with the American side, of course both sides enjoy it or take the fruit from it, but it would not have happened without the backing of the white house. The same applies to the relationship between our defense establishments as well as the support of Israeli qualitative military edge. It's the only place where you can get the best airplanes on earth, financed mainly by American tax payer money, and iron dome, our missile defense. These are all projects that are backed by billions of dollars in recent years, of course by the wide acceptance at the Congress and the major support of the Pentagon, professional level and political level in the Pentagon, but it couldn't happen without the commitment of the President. We don’t have to mislead ourselves, Obama, Biden, Kerry, Carter, Dempsey, they are not part of the problem. They're part of the solution. And we have to manage to do it the right way.

Looking at America, the whole world expects you to reduce the level of internal tension, the whole world looks at America and gets a little bit worried when you see this bi-partisanship that was so typical for American politics when it comes abroad seems to be torn apart or under risk. Everyone expects America to keep leading. The world still needs America, there is no alternative to your leadership, and it cannot be done without taking certain risks on the world arena. The economy of America is turning out of the 2008 crisis much better than Europe or

any other part, probably except the Chinese which are on a different place on the S curve. And it's critical to see the Americans keeping their attitude of being exceptional, but improving the understanding of details and nuances of the rest of the world.

Looking at the World as a whole, my feeling is that the last 10 years were quite good. The headlines are always telling us about the troubles all around the world, the crises that are never-ending. But when you look at the real situation, the real of human beings, you'll find them dramatically improved. Hundreds of millions of people were taken out of extreme poverty, access to potable water improved dramatically, dramatic decline in early death of infants in the first year of their lives, even in the most remote places on earth, much better access to medical services, more serious coordination about major diseases. And all these together amount to a major change in the right direction. Even governance in Sub Saharan Africa, which was the worst place on earth, is improving. Gradually, probably frustratingly slow, but improving, if you compare the situation now to just 10 years ago.
But still there is a lot to do. First of all, about 2 billion human beings are still living from less than 4 dollars a day. That's about the amount of money that the European Union is subsidizing each individual cow in Europe from cradle to the restaurant, and human beings are living on a lower standard, and Europe is not that wealthy or rich these days. And we see still a lot of

deprived places that are still waiting for even the opportunity to connect to modern education that could be incredibly improved by use of the internet. You can now study through Khan academy run buy American of Indian origin Salman Khan. all around the world people are studying from early first grade, mathematics and sciences, and you can enjoy the best teachers on physics or astrophysics, medical education, in your coffee shop in Bangladesh, or somewhere in Tanzania. And that gives great opportunities for people. I think we have to focus on this, because on the long term, I used to tell our people in Israel that we are dealing with fighting against the terror, that we're quite effective in killing mosquitoes, we now need to drain the swamp, because that's the root cause of mosquitoes and malaria. The same applies to the whole world. We are quite effective in dealing with pointed tasks, but not as effective in dealing with root causes and We have to establish a sense of community, a community of nations which really care about each other. Lest we develop this attitude, we wont have a normal life, here in this continent, not to mention the Middle East or in Europe, if there will be so many suffering every day all of us will suffer, especially now,where we can see the gaps in quality of life and opportunities over the screens and internet in real time.

I'm a father to three daughters, I feel extremely identified with the struggle for women's opportunities. I keep telling my daughters, who are all adult now, that they are lucky to be born

in the 20th century, not two centuries ago. And even in this century, they're lucky to be born in a place like Israel which belongs to a community of about 20% of humanity, where women really have better opportunities than ever in human history. But what about the rest of them? And think of it, the real leverage to change the inherently backward looking situation within the Islamic world, is to cause somehow mandatory high school education for all women. We've seen it in Malaysia and in few other places, where all the young women get high school education, within one generation the level of reproduction goes dramatically down, the participation in the work force goes dramatically up, and, last but not least, you cannot pull it backwards, because they have the right to vote and the women which are now educated will not let it happen.

And finally a look into the Future.
We are living through an inflection point in History. At the gates of a Second Industrial Revolution. Recent developments in graphic processors, sensors, nanotech, deep learning and robotics combined with breakthroughs in life science and immune therapies as well as the the emerging ripeness in renewable energy technologies create a huge synergy which will disrupt the way we live, work, manufacture, entertain, treat our health and interact with others and the society as a whole. Within a

single generation we will have not just driverless cars and longer more healthy lives but robots replacing most of manufacturing floor jobs and well into services as well as supporting and then replacing almost any job based on knowledge or common intelligence, from radiologist to a trader. A major fraction of the population in the advanced societies will be not just unemployed but possibly unemployable.
An immense challenge will emerge to the cohesion and solidarity of the politico- social system, the canonical value set and the meaning of social equality and social justice . At the same time a huge edge will be created for those societies who were flexible, highly educated and clever enough to jump first into this new brave world. Heavy investments in R&D, both public and private together with an openness for the needs of the budding innovative, creative, free spirit ecosystem which is the precondition for success will both be critical for success. The U.S as well as IL are exceptionally better deployed than most other nations to seize this opportunity. Lets not betray this destiny.
[Dear Bob, try to find some good inspiring quotation (probably a definition of leadership, like " the courage to do what has to be done, the strength to accept what can not or should not be done, and the wisdom to know which is which")
If we will focus on these elements, combining world leadership which is determined, opened-eyed, sober and ready to cooperate, set a clear order of priority, understanding details and ready to act upon them, I'm confident we can

win on all these struggles and have a better world, where the children of the present students here will come here again in the next generation, empowered , pursuing their happiness, ready for self fulfillment which includes the self fulfillments of others .

Thank you very much, and God bless you.